2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka

District, who claim to have been isolated from their close kin and neighbours in Moroa District by the boundary drawn by Administration some 30 years earlier.

According to Meek, the origin of the name Moroa, (Morwa, Maruwa) is unknown.[97] The people to whom this name is applied by Hausa and by Europeans call themselves Asolio (Osholio, Aholio).[98] According to Tremearne, Asolio claim to have migrated from Zaria (Meek specifies Yelwa, immediately to the north in Zangon Katab District; see Kachichere, p. 83, above) via Kafanchan to their present site.[99] Smith was told by Kagoro informants that Kagoro and Aten (of Ganawuri) were in contact in the area now designated Moroa District and in more or less continual conflict; when the ancestor of the Moroa tribe (Shaliyot) approached them to ask for land, he was given the area bordering on Ganawuri, the present Moroa District. It is of some interest that Asolio constitute the only sizeable "tribal" group in this entire area contained largely in a single District.

Ataka (Attakka; commonly rendered Atakar by Hausa scribes) occupy the eastern half of Kagoro Rock, from the environs of Kadarko, in Kagoro District, and also the lower-lying areas south and east in Moroa District and beyond to the foot of the Plateau escarpment, across the borders of Jema'a District and the Birom Tribal Area, as far as Nimbia (Gwandara or Karshe "tribe") and Assob (Birom). The origin and meaning of the name is nowhere stated, but it conforms so closely to Katab forms that it seems likely to be indigenous: according to Ames, Ataka were traditionally co-residents with Aten of an area at the centre of which the present-day village of Takwot is located, which suggests one possible origin and meaning.[100]

The exact number of Ataka residing outside Moroa District is uncertain. The Census of 1931 gives 2,873 as the total number of Ataka in all areas (in 1921 Ataka were classified with Kagoro and Moroa); in 1934 A. B. Mathews counted some 384 in Jema'a District alone; the N.A. Census of 1948–9 returned 669 in Kagoro District; no count is available for Ataka of the Birom Tribal Area. A round figure of 5,000 is suggested for Ataka in all areas at the present time.

Social Structure: Local Organs of Authority: Miscellaneous Cultural Details

The history of the administration of Moroa District has been uneventful, probably because Moroa early developed a *modus vivendi* with the powers of the region—Kajuru and/or Kauru, and the Hausa and Fulani kings of Zaria—so that a central authority grew up around the Chief of Manchok ("Agwam Asholio" in Provincial Records).

It was stated in 1934, at the time of the transfer of Moroa District from Plateau to Zaria Province, that "the District contains 24 villages"; presumably including Asolio, Ataka, and one Katab (Kaura), "the heads of which are responsible direct to the Agwam Asholio"—this state representing a degree of fragmentation unequalled in this part of Zaria, at least, and perhaps going far to explain the relative stability of the District.

There is no record in Zaria of subsequent reorganization, grouping these villages into a limited number of "Village-areas." A total of only 19 villages for the District was found in the Village Directory of the Northern Provinces (Census of 1931), however. Only 14 of these can be identified as Asolio:

[97] As Meek traces Asolio to the Chawai (Atsam) tribal area of Zangon Katab District, it may be recalled that Reynolds found among Atsam evidence of a double unilineal system, the largest matrilineal unit bearing the name "Marowan".

[98] Cf. Shaliyot, given by Smith's Kagoro informants as Moroa "tribal ancestor."

[99] Cf. Traditions of Kurama, the people of Kauru District, and the Katab. Meek gives "Asalio" as the name of a lineage of the "aboriginal" Aku clan of Katab (see table, p. 72, above, *Religious Beliefs*, below).

[100] Cf. Takwot and Ataka (Atakar).

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Moroa
Ataka

	Population (1931)
Babban Gida (Agbwat) [101]	184
Biniki (Beniki)	253
Bungyel (Bungen)	46
Bwandom (Bandong)	515
Chambano (Chonbano)	194
Chori	253
Gizagwai (Kisagwai)	354
Kajim	68
Mahuta	345
Manchok	605
Randiyan (Nandiyam)	274
Unguwar Gora (Gora)	203
Zangam	375
Zankan	488
Total	4,157

Randiyan, according to Meek, is mixed Katab and Asolio: so far as can be determined, however, the latter predominate.

Kaura (population 756 in 1931) is, as already indicated, Katab. Another six villages, Adu (53), Anturum (363), Ashim (178), Asu (287), Mafan (638), and Tachira (243), [102] totalling 1,862, may account for the remainder of Asolio in the district in 1931 (cf. "tribal" figure, 4,683, returned by the Census of 1931), but the "tribal" affiliations of the different villages cannot in fact be stated.

As already noted, two hamlets of the Pari (Fari) Village-Area of Zangon Katab District are Asolio; Unguwar Gaya or Kayya (population 204 in 1950, according to Reynolds) and Chori (109).

No Ataka villages in Moroa District are anywhere specified by name. It can only be deduced from the records cited above that some 1,500 to 2,000 in the District were distributed among a maximum of five villages, in 1931, with an average population of from 300 to 400. In Kagoro District, Ataka constitute a single Village-area. In Jema'a District, Plateau Province, Mathews found five villages or hamlets, and stated: "Each village has its own headman (*agwam*) and priest (*agwam obwai*). There is no cohesion and no central authority."

Presumably each village dealt directly with the Moslem District Head. In 1950, eight Ataka villages were recognized by Administration in Jema'a: Akwat, Assob, Barshi, Biyok, Katsak, Manyi, Sakiyo, Tajan Kasa, and Ungwar Atakar. Attempts were then being made to induce the formation of something like an Ataka "tribal council," with the hope that such, if it emerged, might ultimately federate with a similar council of Kagoro in the District.

Meek's analysis of the social structure of Moroa District is fragmentary, but it appears to correspond in some detail to that outlined farther above for Kagoro, the proper names of the various units being distinctive, however. Marriage practices differ only in that girls are given in primary marriage twice a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, and again at the ripening of the millet,[103] when a form of capture, with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives, is customary. Meek notes also that there is free intermarriage between the Asolio and those sections of the Moroa population which belong to other tribes, taking the form of primary marriages or elopment with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permitted among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The chief priest, according to Meek, is a member of the senior Moroa clan, the Ye-Lutsi, which is dispersed among the villages of Bungyel, Chambano, Chori,

[101] Names used by Meek, when they differ from those given in the Village Directory, are placed in parentheses.

[102] Adu is rendered Abu on the map accompanying the Gazetteer of Plateau Province (Ames); Mafan appears as Mafam.

[103] Meek does not specify the date, but millet harvest in Moroa District takes place in November and December.

361 103 162 614

"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Banewhan	Afana	*Afana*	1,185
	Katsik		
	Gidan Tagwai	*Gidan Tagwai*	1,704
	Amfan		
	Bakin Kogi		
	G. Tagwai Hausa		
	Makera Hausa		
	Kamurun Kaje	*Kamurun Kaje*	1,979
	Kurdan		
	Sokwap		
	Zauru		
	Marsa	*Marsa*	*2,227 : 7,095*
	Chanchu		
	Kunye		
	Rikawan		
Batadon	Madakiya	*Madakiya*	3,396
	Atat		
	Ayagan		
	Bodari		
	Bonkwa		
	Hausawan Matsirgas		
	Hurjam		
	Kauraje		

648 Kaje appear early to have become subject to the Kajuru kingdom which dominated the whole of the Kachichere Plateau till the Jihad, and thereafter to the Fulani: in the middle of the last century, Kaje were divided between Zaria and Jema'a Emirates, and remained so under the British till 1934, when the whole of Banewhan and Batadon, and parts of Baimbin and Bainturung tribal sections were transferred from Jema'a to Zangon Katab District of Zaria.

631 622 At the present time the Kaje area of Zangon Katab is organized and administered as follows. Each recognized village or hamlet within each Village-area has its own civil head: these presumably retain the old title of *agwam*.[110] Subordinate to the hamlet-head may be one or more titled messengers, and a number of ward (Hausa *unguwa*) heads, entitled Madaki (Hausa title), if formally invested by the Village-area head, or Mai-unguwa (Hausa), in the interim. In addition, each hamlet normally has another official, also bearing a Hausa title, Magajin gari; he is either a retired hamlet-head, or a senior relative, who advises the hamlet-head, and acts for him in his absence.

According to Reynolds, one of the hamlets is selected on historical grounds to be, administratively, the senior hamlet of the Village-area. The head of this hamlet automatically becomes the Village-area head. Whether wards within hamlets are similarly arranged in order of seniority is not clear. The Village-area head bears the title Magaji (Hausa, plural Magadai). Each Village-area has, further, a Jekada, a resident representative of the Katuka (the District head, himself the representative of the Emir of Zaria at Zangon Katab): he is essentially a messenger between the Magaji and the Katuka (cf. Wakili, below).

Resident at Zonkwa, the Wakilin Kaje (Hausa, "Minister to Kaje"), whose particular title is Sarkin Fada (Hausa, approximately "Major-domo"), is the Katuka's "mouthpiece" in the Kaje tribal area, as the several Jekadu are his "ears." The net result of this system is to bring the Village-area heads individually to terms, as it were, with the District head, though the post of Wakili is a tacit recognition of the essential integrity of the Kaje "tribe." One of the Jekadu in the Kaje area, further serves as a sort of tribal scribe under the Wakili.

[110] See below. Reynolds, whose analysis of Kaje titles is otherwise meticulous, inexplicably fails to give the indigenous title of the hamlet-head.

The Katuka has administrative, but not judicial functions. In the normal course of events his duties are limited to the collection of taxes, and the installation of hamlet-heads (Village-area heads are installed by the Emir). The Wakili in general simply relays instructions to Village-area heads from the Katuka; the official scribe is in charge of the tax census of the area. 631

The post of Village-area head (Magaji) is a new one, dating from the time of the transfer of certain Kaje villages from Jema'a to Zaria. The Magaji transmits instructions from the Katuka to the hamlet-heads of his area. He has his own police force, and several titled messengers. Judicially, also, he has some authority, can settle minor disputes and inflict small fines. Further, disputes between members of any single hamlet in his area may be brought before him when the hamlet-head concerned is unable himself to effect a settlement. If similar difficulties arose between two Village-areas both Magadai concerned would meet and attempt to reach a friendly settlement: if their efforts failed, the matter would then be brought to the tribal court, of which all Magadai are members, three constituting a quorum: appeal from the tribal court lies with the Emir. It is said, however, that in relation with the hamlet-heads the authority of the Magaji is recognized but limited. He can exert authority only through them (outside his own personal hamlet) and will take no part in the collection of tax in their areas. 622 692

Major emphasis is laid on the duties of the hamlet-head as collector of taxes, a percentage of which he receives. He is also responsible for seeing that public works are performed within his own area. As suggested above, he also has certain judicial functions, particularly in secondary marriage, where he takes the girl and her father to the magaji, when *idda* begins and also when it ends.[111] For this he is given approximately five shillings.

The Madaki may be characterized as a lesser edition of the hamlet-head. 623

According to Reynolds: "None of these civil heads has a recognized council, but all informally consult with influential elders and senior relatives, particularly in affairs concerning tribal custom, when disputes arise: as will be seen, this is less surprising when it is learned that local groupings of all sorts are also kinship groupings, as a general rule."

As already indicated, the "tribal sections" or clans are localized (see table, above). These are segmented into a number of successively smaller, less comprehensive lineage groups, down to the "minimal lineage", the extended family inhabiting a single compound: all these likewise constitute local groups, the lineage of second order ("major lineage") generally occupying a single village or hamlet (and being most often the exogamous unit), and that of the third order ("minor"), a ward. Thus, it will be seen that the Village-area head is the organ of a body of kinsmen, and the hamlet-head one of a still more tightly knit group, closely related to all his ward heads within the hamlet. 614 621 613

Fusion as well as fission, however, occurs among Kaje as among Kagoro; immigrant lineages are reported assimilated to lineages traditionally "of one language," maintaining in effect a kinship relationship alongside a local relationship and a tradition of alien origins. 613

Before conquest by Kajuru and/or Fulani, the effective grouping in Kaje society seems to have been the clan, as a "maximal lineage", authority in which was vested in the *atiyinhwap*, or approximately "father of the group" (cf. Kagoro, above), still recognized as a ritual authority and held to be directly descended from the founding ancestor through primogeniture. His position normally passes from father to son or from elder brother to younger. If the latter, the son of the elder brother would inherit the position on the younger brother's death. The *atiyinhwap* is the final authority in all matters concerning the welfare of the lineage, offences involving mystical sanctions, rites for fertility and rain or for warding off death and disease. After he has spoken, nobody would dare to disobey for fear of incurring mystical retribution. Similarly, within the major lineages which compose the clan 614 613

[111] Re *idda*, see Kagoro, p. 100, above.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba

Social Structure: Local Organs of Authority

631 At the time of the transfer of Jaba District from Jema'a Division to Zaria Province, in 1934, it was stated that the District comprised "27 villages[135] whose heads are directly responsible to the Pop Ham [chief of Jaba]," a situation comparable to that seen in Moroa; a current list of Village-areas was not accessible in Zaria, but various reports suggest the possibility that a smaller number has emerged in recent years as a result of reorganization.

621 According to Meek, the village constitutes the group within which a man may not seek a secondary wife. He indicates that there are further administrative and social sub-divisions, "wards" (=hamlets? cf. Kagoro, farther above), these being 582 exogamous as well as local groupings; but Cole stresses the fact that "kindreds" (that is, kinship groupings of the largest scale) are dispersed among two or more villages (perhaps sometimes not even contiguous), as a general rule.

621 A report made in 1933 by Barnicot states that in Kachia District Jaba are divided into five "clans" and "six Village-areas." In 1949 Cole gives five Village-areas, each equated with a "kindred." What order of kinship grouping the hamlet constitutes in Kachia is not known.

In Kagarko District, Jaba are found in three Village-areas dominated by other tribal groups; in Yeskwa they are settled with Yeskwa in two Village-areas. In Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate (Plateau Province), Kano, Kirti, and Kusan are currently identified by Administration as Jaba; they are separated from Jaba District of Zaria by Kagoma tribal settlement, and it is noteworthy that until 1934, at least, and possibly even more recently, these same villages were labelled Kagoma by all investigators.

692 A Jaba tribal court was organized in Jaba District in 1935, and appears to have been designed to serve the entire Jaba community of Zaria Province, both in and out of the Emirate; but data from Kachia District indicate that Jaba there may have recourse to the local Native Court (Kadara-Kuturmi), on which elders representing all clans of Kachia Jaba sit. On the other hand, decisions taken in Jema'a Emirate with respect to Jaba there are known to have been reversed in conformity with advice given by Pop Ham.

Life Cycle

Birth

775 According to Temple, "the Jaba believe that the souls of the dead can enter the womb of a living woman and be reborn" (but see also *Religious Beliefs*, below).
844 At birth the mother and child are bathed in cold water. On the fourth day the child is taken from its mother's hut and named (by the father if a boy, the mother if a 553 girl) in the presence of the women of the compound. Twins, however, are not named till the seventh day, when elders of the village—and so, presumably, of the large-scale kinship unit—meet to perform the ceremony and partake of a feast provided by the father.

584 Temple states that a girl is betrothed at birth, claimed by right by the first eligible man to see her (cf. Katab and Kaje).

Initiation

[304] It is not stated whether circumcision is in fact a practice of Jaba: Meek states only that "initiation rites . . . have no connection with circumcision." Initiation 881 of boys takes place between their ninth and eleventh years. A boy's maternal uncle acts as his sponsor, providing "the preliminary fee of one chicken": Meek fails to indicate, however, whether initiation in effect unites the tribe, at Kwoi, perhaps, or

[135] A total of 27 villages in the District is listed in the Village Directory of the 1931 Census; three of these are recognized by Administration as Lungu. The largest are: Chori (2,219), Kwai (Kwoi) (3,700), Nok (1,080), Samban Gida (1,043).

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGOMA

Linguistically, Kagoma are impossible to classify with any certainty: the view has been expressed that they are connected, perhaps distantly, with Katab, but it appears that only a few words are available for comparison. On the basis of these it is perhaps far-fetched to suggest that Kagoma language may be more closely related to the Jaba than to the more typical languages of the Katab Group, such as Kaje or Katab, but such a conclusion would not be unexepected, in view of the proximity of the two peoples.

Social Organization

Kagoma are said to have capitulated early to the Fulani, though they appear to have revolted frequently against Moslem exactions, perhaps because of their very poverty and the rugged character of their environment. Villages were commonly perched upon the inselberg formations which characterize the area, and so were relatively easy to defend, but at the same time easy to besiege and difficult to flee from when their defences were pierced, so that the Fulani were able from time to time to decimate the population of the area.

In times of peace the individual villages dealt directly with the Moslem District head; under Administration this relationship has been preserved in its essentials. Kagoma have, nevertheless, been administered in various ways, originally as a separate District, but since 1916 first as a joint District with a large section of the Kaje now in Zaria Province, to which Yeskwa were subsequently attached and, finally, since the transfer of Kaje north of Kafanchan to Zangon Katab District of Zaria in 1934, with Yeskwa alone.

Very little is known of the organization of Kagoma, apart from the facts set down by Mathews that each village has both a chief (*kpob*) and a priest (*gbuboga*). According to Mathews, the village head is said to be an indigenous institution, selected from the collateral lines of one particular family by a general meeting of elders (*bukwana*) and adults, including those from hamlets which have sprung from the parent village concerned. The man chosen will not necessarily be an old man, but he should have reached man's estate and be able to "acquit himself properly." In former times he could relinquish office with the consent of the elders when he felt that he was getting past his work. "The priest has a different status and is undoubtedly an earlier conception. He chooses his own successor (a younger brother or son), but this is his own business and not that of the elders though they could probably bring the force of public opinion to bear. The idea of a chief and priest as separate entities is now ingrained; even now the priest has much more real power than the chief, who will act only on the advice of the council of elders."

Main Cultural Features

Ames, writing of Kagoma cultural affiliations, for the most part merely summarizes Temple's earlier account, stating that "their birth, marriage and burial customs are similar to those of the Kaje-Jaba-Katab Group of tribes," more particularly the Jaba, it would appear.[139] Their "dodo" cult, which Ames tends to accept as a relatively recent innovation, bears a distinct resemblance to the Kaje *obwai*. In their house-building, and also their tribal marking, Kagoma conform to general Katab norms: just as the tribal marks seem to have spread over the entire region from a Katab or Kaje centre, Tremearne was of the opinion that the distinctive Katab house-type must have originated in Kaje or Kagoma, for here he found it universally used, in contrast with, say, practice in Kagoro and Moroa Districts.

The most notable known difference between Kagoma and typical tribes of the Katab Group lies in the fact that Kagoma women do not wear the *oyam* in any form (unless they have adopted it in recent years); neither do they wear leaves. Temple describes their attire as a "loincloth," and Tremearne as "a little strip of cloth."

[139] Another feature mentioned by Ames brings to mind Jaba: "They venerate a Supreme God who is connected with the sun."

2: Gunn

102, 131, 491, 496, 631

FF38 Katab FF38

Layout of end map:

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 . FF38 Katab FF38

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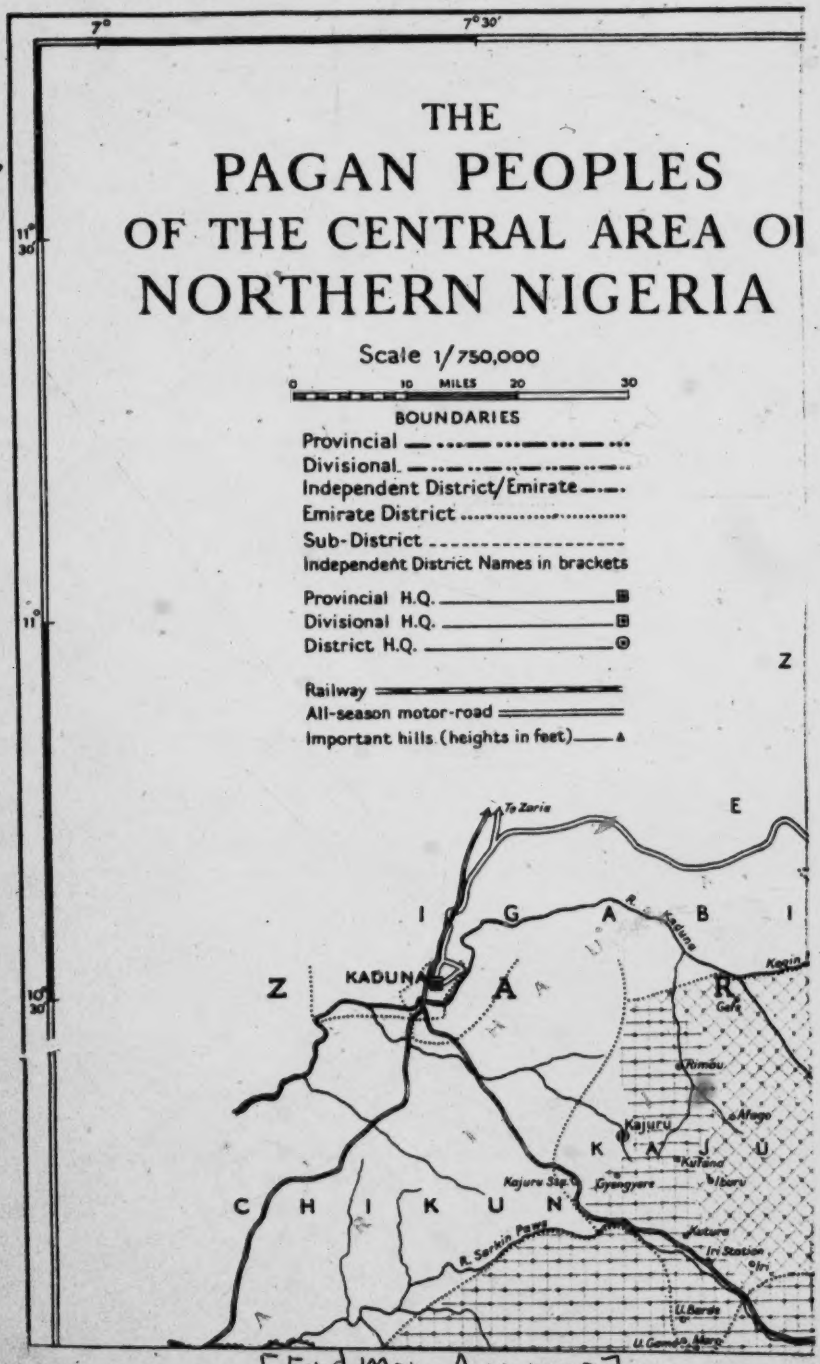
THE PAGAN PEOPLES OF THE CENTRAL AREA OF NORTHERN NIGERIA



[End Map A upper]

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

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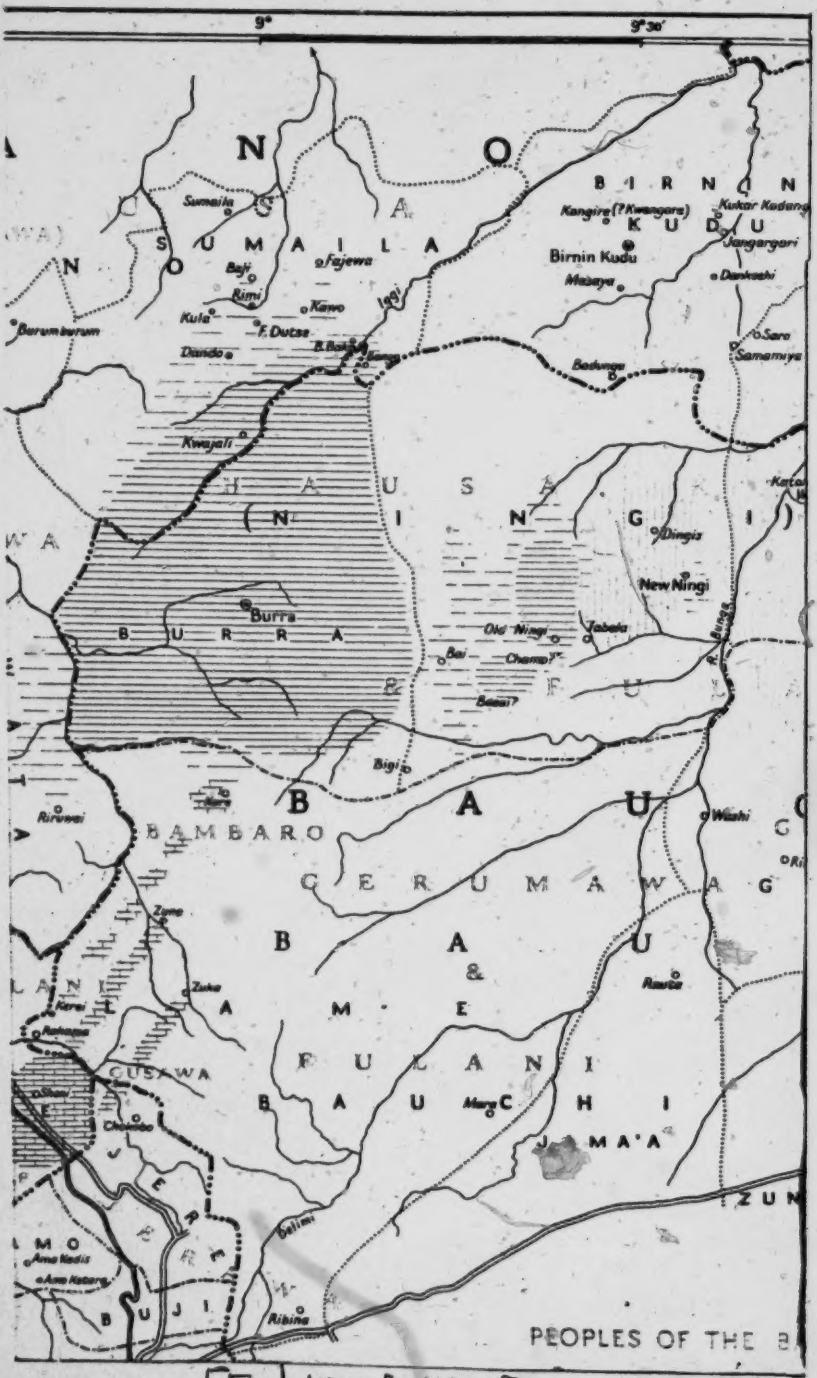

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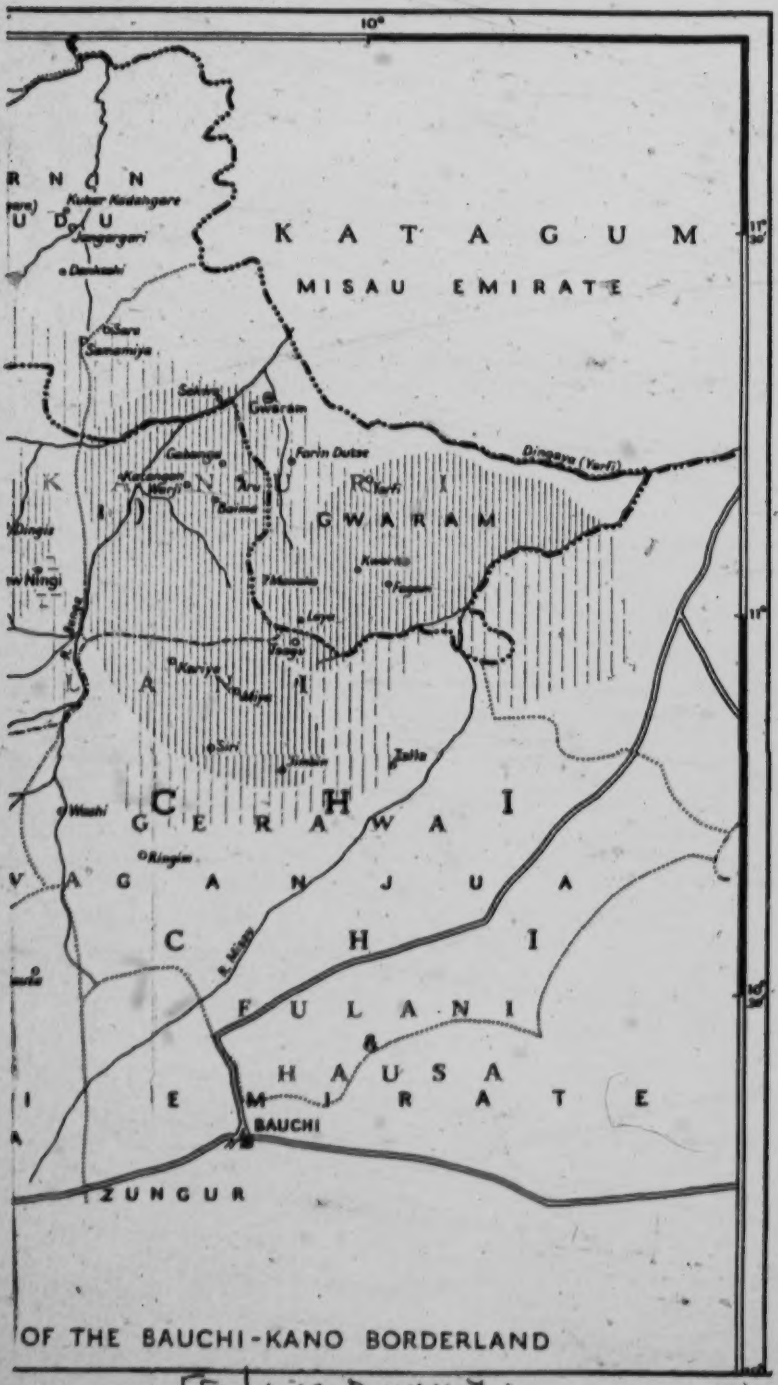

OF THE BAUCHI-KANO BORDERLAND

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2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

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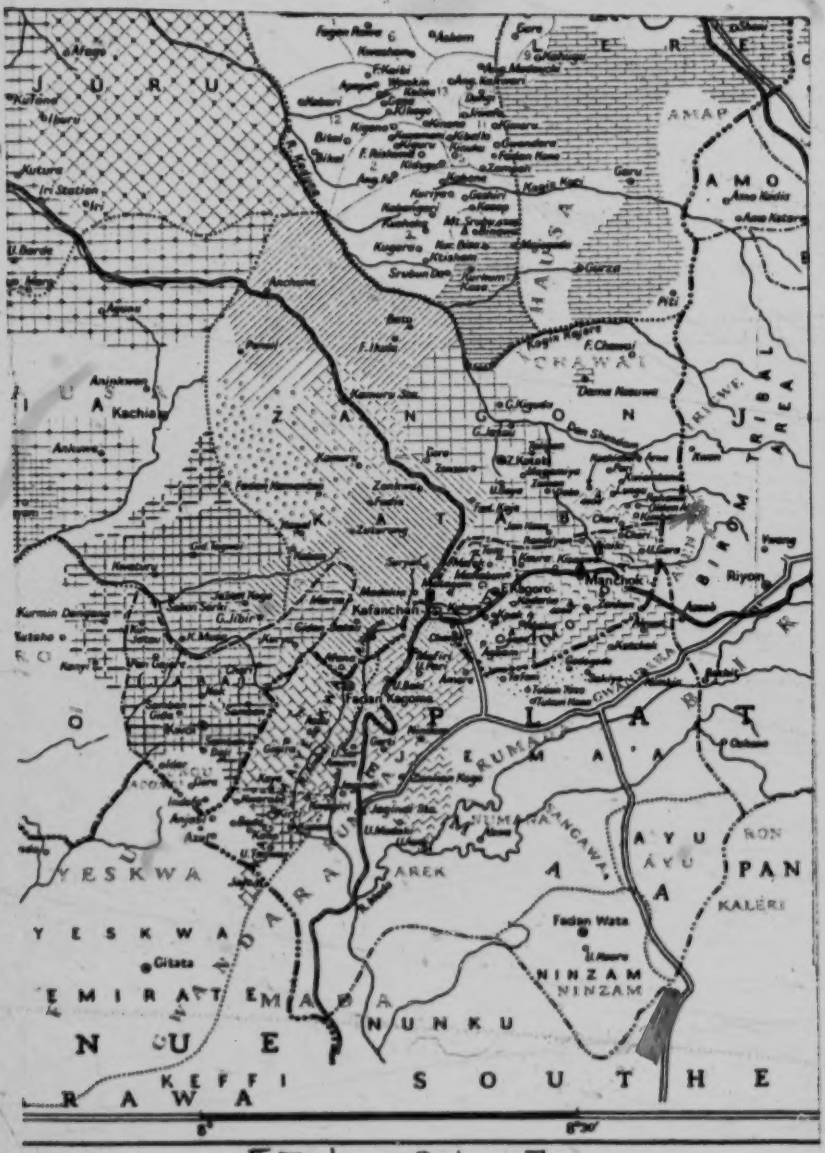

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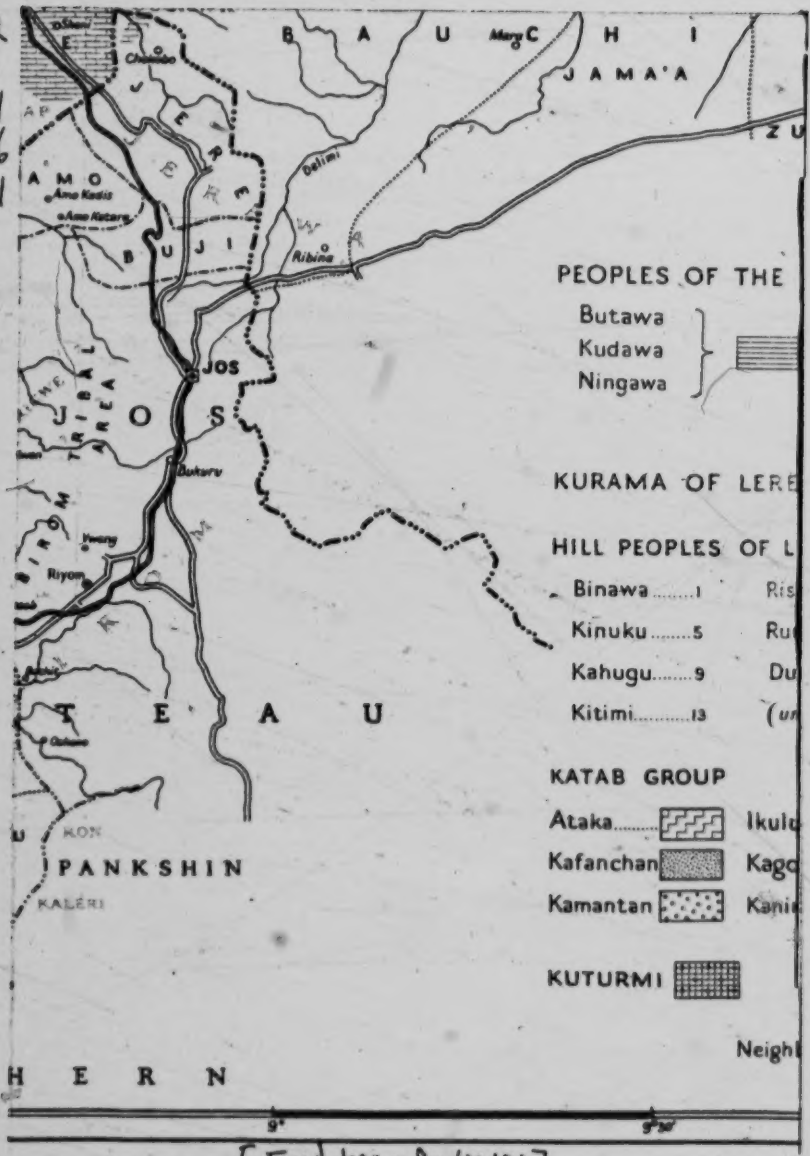

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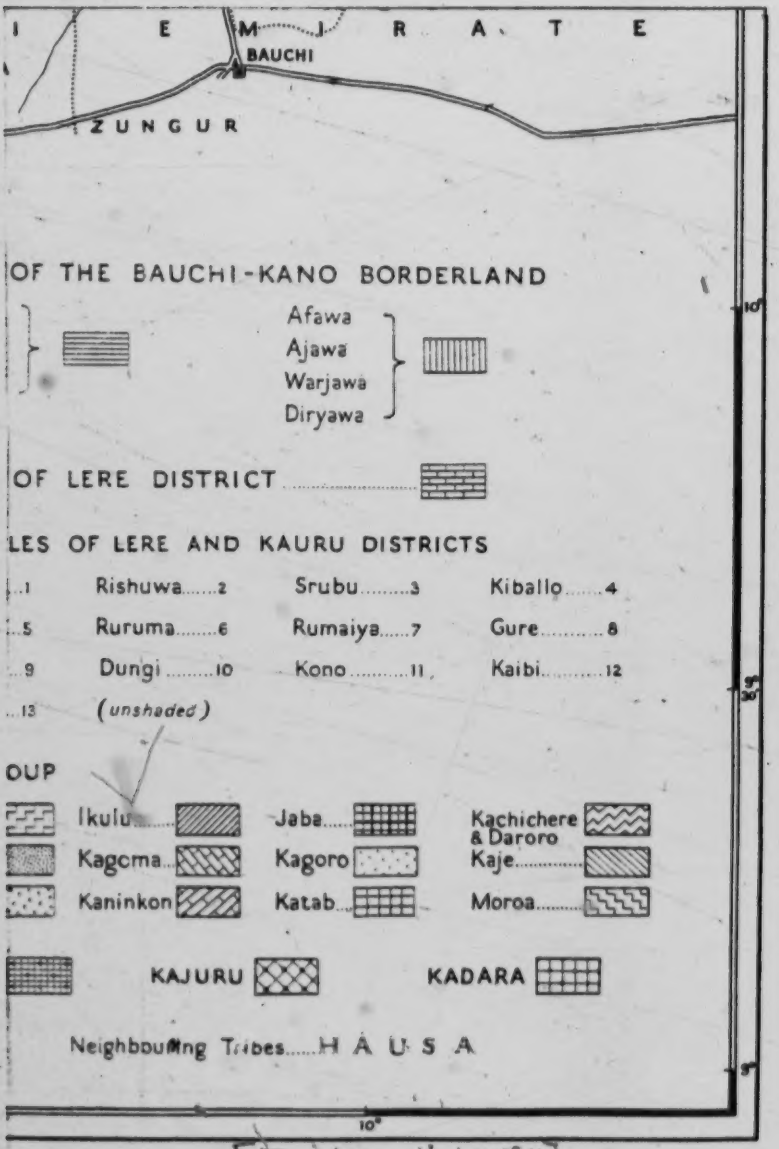

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unit, however, who wishes to take up a portion would have to seek the permission of the District Head. 423 311

36. Again, if a stranger comes into the district and lives there for a sufficiently long while to become accepted as one of the Kagoro themselves then he can be loaned land to build a house on by anyone who cares to lend him it. It is *loaned*, not given or sold. If, however, a stranger were to come to the district for the first time and wished to do the same thing the would-be lender would first of all have to obtain the District Head's consent. 609 423 426

37. There was an old site in the Agwan village unit formerly used by Railway Construction Workings. When the Railway Construction moved on to Kafanchan the Agwan villagers returned to the site. The site, however, was very convenient as a building site and the former District Head in consultation with his Village Heads decided to allocate it as such. This decision was accepted. More recently a farmer in the neighbourhood protested against a farm of his being so allocated for further plots. The Elders who were collected and consulted upheld the decision that the District Head was entitled to decide that the land should be used for this purpose and that custom would agree (cf. the Hausa proverb—*Gari ya kore gona*). Similar circumstances arose recently in the Kpak village unit where specific lands were ' set aside ' by the District Head for Hausa and Ibo enclaves. They did not want indiscriminate settlement by outsiders and so decided to keep them fixed in a specific area. 631 622 623 423

38. It must be remembered that in no one of these circumstances could the District Head be said to have acted in accordance with his traditional powers. He is not a traditional entity. He has acted as representative of and in consultation with his Elders who are the representatives of tradition and who, by consent, have acted in novel circumstances as they would have acted traditionally. It is of great interest to note that these somewhat primitive people seem to be in the process of evolving " central powers " very similar to those accepted by customary law in the Emirates. Whether or not, as mentioned above, this is from within or a mere copying it is difficult to say. It must be remembered, however, that they are somewhat backward people. the Elders are very conservative, have a considerable say in matters and are very independent minded. It is fairly certain that the District Head could not move in such matters without their definite consent. 631 622 [623] 167 423 609

39. Immigration. Though there appears to be a certain amount of intermingling by and absorption of non-Kagoro elements coming